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ABSTRACT

This report presents the proceedings of a seminar that brought together almost 30 intellectuals, artists, and development activists from eight African countries and Canada to identify the obstacles to peace in Africa and develop strategies to overcome them. One of the other purposes of the seminar was to develop elements of curriculum and instructional materials for peace education and action plans for selected target groups of adults and other special groups. The report features seminar objectives; the seminar process; an introduction of the participants; organizations and methods of work; on your mark; an introduction of the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education; an introduction to the Adult Education Association of Zambia; the official opening of the seminar; Dr. Sets'abi's vote of thanks; an overview of the basic Working Document; the concept of peace; militarism; violence; peace; liberation education and training for peace education; content of peace education; literature for peace education; media for peace education, exchange of experience; the target for peace education; Africa's troubled spots; non-interference in the internal affairs of another country; foreign military bases; final recommendations and resolutions; and an evaluation of the seminar. Two appendices also are included: (1) the opening speech by Mr. John Mwanakatwe, and (2) a list of participants. (DB)

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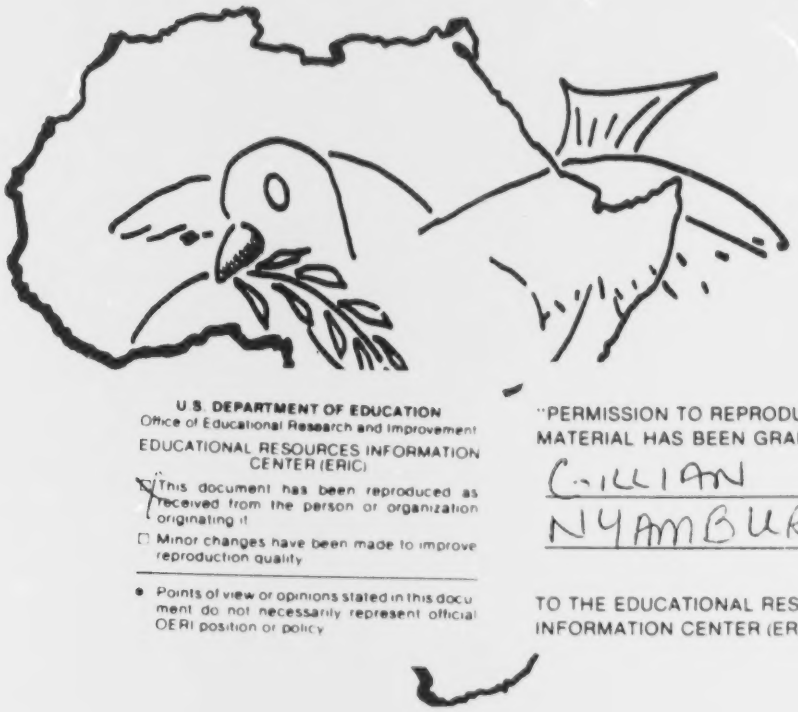
AALAE PROPOSES PEACE



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Seminar on

African Perspectives and Issues on

Peace Education and Action in Africa

A REPORT

AFRICAN ASSOCIATION FOR LITERACY AND ADULT EDUCATION

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Seminar on

African Perspectives and Issues on

Peace Education and Action in Africa

A REPORT

by Margaret M. C. Machila with Paul Wangoola

The Seminar on African Perspectives and Issues on
Peace Education and Action in Africa

was organized by the

AFRICAN ASSOCIATION FOR LITERACY AND ADULT EDUCATION

in conjunction with the

ADULT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF ZAMBIA

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- The Adult Education Association of Zambia
- Chainama Hotel, Lusaka
- Participating individuals and organizations

Paul Wangoola
Secretary General
AALAE

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The AALAE Peace Education Programme

War is the highest level of settling contradictions; it is also the most destructive. For Africa, as with the rest of the Third World, war has become a permanent and normal feature of life. Some African countries have not known peace for the last 20 years, and more. But what is more, the possibility of a world war, and the possibility of the extinction of mankind threatens the world with gathering momentum and menace.

Under the circumstances, there has been a growing interest in peace. The most vocal and articulate concerns have been from the North. Here the focus of concern has been around environmental issues, nuclear disarmament. So much so that an impression is given that if there is no *nuclear confrontation* there is peace.

This line of thinking actually articulates the interests of the super powers and the imperialist powers who must export war while preparing eventual confrontation. Now, more than before, is the time to ensure that the use of conventional weapons does not become "respectable" or be regarded as "humane"; and that all wars and acts of aggression must be condemned and combatted. And what is more, even if the concern was about nuclear war, those who fear nuclear war have every reason to fear conventional wars, for nuclear war will be resorted to after conventional war fails to achieve the objectives of the warmongers? There is therefore a direct link between conventional war and nuclear war. Nuclear war is really the continuation of conventional war 'by other means'.

Another focus of the peace concern of the North has been to try and have the Third World into supporting one super power or imperialist power against another. But in real life it makes no difference whether a peasant or worker in Eritrea or Angola is shot by a Soviet, American or Chinese bullet. They all kill. The point therefore is to combat all foreign powers who want to turn us into canon fodder for their undemocratic interests.

AALAE's interest in Peace Education then arises from the fact that the threat of nuclear war is global; and as such, we cannot afford to be aloof. What affects all is the business of all. Secondly, it is important for Africa to articulate her perceptions and perspectives on peace and that way contribute to the global understanding of the issues involved, as well as provide some solutions. This is especially important because a durable, deep and all-round solution to peacelessness lies in taking into account the views, concerns, perspectives and positions of all the legitimate forces; and especially those forces historically capable and destined to move mankind to higher and more humane levels of social organization.

The basic threat to peace in Africa is foreign domination, by which the African peoples have no political power. As a result, we do not have power over our resources. These are exploited for the benefit of foreign powers, and the people themselves, therefore, enslaved in their own continent. Since no man will willingly give up the right to be master of himself/herself or to be the principal beneficiary of his own labor, foreign domination in Africa, as elsewhere in the Third World, can only be achieved through the use of force, this political position - is so important in understanding peacelessness on the African continent, as well as to finding a way forward to peace and development. In particular, the AALAE Peace Programme seeks to identify the basic causes of peacelessness on the African continent, as a basis for identifying possible solutions and what educational action could be taken to achieve such solutions. Specifically, the objectives of the AALAE Peace Education Programme are:

- To identify African scholars, leaders and activists interested and working in the area of peace and militarism.
- Study the theoretical understanding and perceptions on peace, militarism and development in Africa.
- Develop instructional materials for peace education.
- Identify appropriate research areas and topics.

- Develop individual and collective tasks and processes appropriate for combatting militarism and nurturing the conditions for dialogue and the peaceful resolution of differences at various levels of social interaction.
- Give support to the development of national-level peace programmes.
- Facilitate exchanges and networking between and among individual and organizations active in Peace Education.
- Sensitize National Associations and member NGOs about the importance of Peace Education.

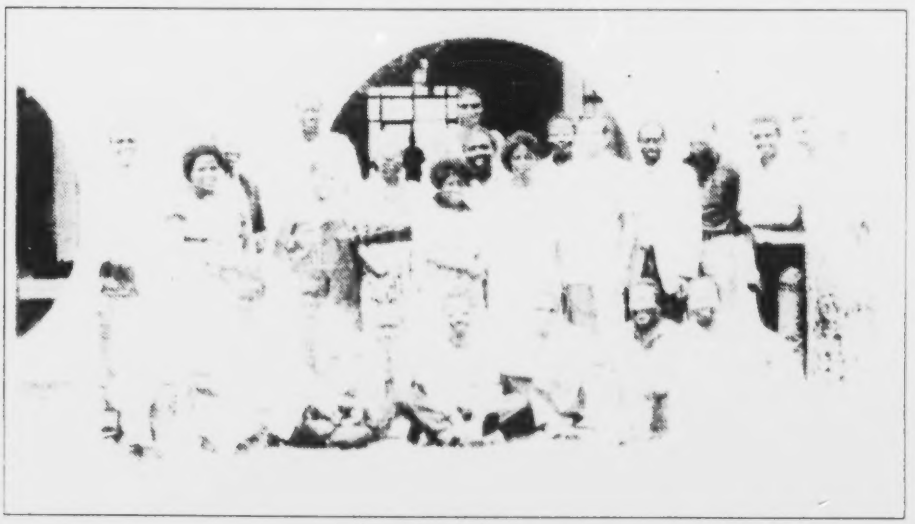
Introduction

This report presents the proceedings of the Seminar on *African Issues and Perspectives on Peace Education and Action in Africa.* The Seminar was organized by the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education, in conjunction with the Adult Education Association of Zambia. It brought together intellectuals, artists and development activists. It was the first Pan-African Seminar on militarism, peace and development to be convened by an NGO. All together there were about thirty participants from the following countries: Kenya, Lesotho, Senegal, Mauritius, South Africa, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Canada. The Seminar was held at Chainama Hotel, Lusaka, Zambia, 3-7 October, 1988.

Seminar Objectives

The Objectives of the Seminar were:

1. To bring together African scholars, leaders, and activists of peace and development to share their experiences.



The Participants

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2. Using the basic working document prepared by Professor Yash Tandon as a basic tool to study the theoretical and practical issues of peace and development in Africa.

3. To identify the root cause for the lack of peace and the major obstacles to it in Africa; as well as how to overcome them.

4. To identify and develop strategic individual and collective task for combatting militarism and nurturing conditions for dialogue and the peaceful resolution of differences at various levels of social interaction.

5. To develop elements of curriculum and instructional materials for peace education and action for selected target groups of adults and other special groups.

6. To explore the possibility and desirability of establishing mechanisms and modalities for an ongoing AALAE Peace Programme.

7. To raise the African voice and perspective on peace and development at the international level and that way make a contribution to the global search for justice with peace.

The Seminar Process

Introducing the Participants.

The Chairman of AALAE, Dr.Anthony Sets'abi chaired the first day's proceedings. He started the day's session by facilitating the pairing off of the participants, and giving them the space and time to interview and brief each other on their biodata. All the participants assembled again and on the basis of the pairing off, each introduced

AALAE Chairman, Dr. Sets'abi, welcomes the participants.

the other. It proved an interesting and effective method for the participants to introduce and to come to know each other.

Organization and Methods of Work

The Seminar was organized in plenaries and working groups. Participants had as a basic working document a 100-page monograph prepared by Prof. Yash Tandon, entitled *Peace Education and Action in Africa.* To ensure broad participation and responsibility of as many persons as possible, each day a different chairperson was elected. The first day was chaired by Dr. Anthony Sets'abi. Other Chairpersons

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were Tembeka Mbobo of CEAPA, South Africa; Mr.Babacar Diop of Senegal; Ann Tshepo of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) based in Lusaka; Mr. Murray Thomson of Peace Fund Canada; and Mr.Paul Wangoola, who chaired the final session on recommendations and follow-up.

The other level of participation were the working groups. These elected and rotated the chair and rapporteur.

Mr. Paul Wangoola, AALAE Secretary General, introducing AALAE

On Your Mark!

When the Seminar started on 3rd October, 1988, we discovered that many participants had not read the basic working document. Since the success of the Seminar depended on the participants having read, and hopefully studied the basic working document, it was agreed to set aside the rest of the day for those who had not read the working document to do so; and those who had read to study it.

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Introducing the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education

The following day started with the introduction of the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education by its Secretary General, Mr. Paul Wangoola. He opened his remarks by pointing out that in the last ten years many new NGOs had emerged on the African continent. In his view this reflected the disintegration and decay of the African neo-colonial state. For example, several African states today control less territory than they inherited at the time of independence. But perhaps more serious was the inability of many African governments to provide strategic services, many of which were considered to be the hallmark and legitimacy of an African government, for example, education, health, roads, etc. Such services are now being replaced by police posts or army barracks. The Secretary General wanted the participants to view the growth of African NGOs as a response on the part of the people to organize for their development and social welfare, to fill in the gaps which were being created by the retreat of the neo-colonial state.

He said that AALAE is an umbrella African international NGO for institutions, associations and individuals on the African continent active in literacy, adult and continuing education. He further said that many other African NGOs were emerging in Africa today partly because of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and other transnationals' policies which have reduced the African Governments to debt servicing institutions and at the expense of the social welfare of the people. Like other African NGOs, AALAE was considered by the Secretary General as rising and growing on the needs of the people who want to be heard.

He observed that many expatriate NGOs in Africa attempted to meet the grassroot needs of the African. However, most expatriate NGOs have limited and sometimes no interest or capacity to meet the needs of the people. The foreign NGOs, and sometimes local NGOs, were instead used by multinationals and transnationals in their plans

to subjugate Africa. The Secretary General said there was the need for Africans to organize themselves to provide for their social welfare and to defend themselves against all manner of machinations. He said that the African Voluntary Organizations such as AALAE were there to stay but needed to organize themselves in a manner that would help them respond to local needs. He saw most NGOs lacking appropriate communication channels that facilitated relevant and meaningful exchange of ideas, skills and values.

On the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education, Mr. Paul Wangoola further saw the Association as an expression of solidarity within Africa and also between Southern NGOs through South-South exchange programmes such as the cultural exchange with Latin America which took place in January, 1989.

Outlining the functions of AALAE, the Secretary General stated that in order for AALAE to function effectively, each participant and organization was required to do the best since AALAE could only be as good, as active and as effective as the members.

Although AALAE was a Pan-African NGO, and therefore a voice of Africa, Mr.Wangoola saw the need for many African NGOs to speak on development and plan strategies specific to their own countries and situations. In order to do this, he called on African NGOs to determine their own needs and also re-organize themselves. The NGOs were given the challenge to reflect on the poverty of African peoples and to accordingly develop policies and programmes, which of necessity should not be neo-colonial, to address this issue.

On collaboration, he encouraged South-South horizontal technical cooperation and solidarity; and saw the tour by the Mexican Cultural Group as necessary to share experiences such as the use of music, art and dance to promote adult education.

He then urged participants to seriously think about the theme under discussion ... PEACE, MILITARISM AND PEACE EDUCATION and come up with strong, meaningful recommendations for future organizational framework and follow up action on

peace in Africa. He saw AALAE in Africa as holding some promise for leadership and guidance on the issues of Peace.

Introduction of Adult Education Association of Zambia

Dr. J.E. Nyirenda, Vice Chairman of AALAE, Southern Africa Region, and Chairman of the Adult Education Association of Zambia introduced the Zambian Adult Education Association to the participants. He introduced the members of the Association and the National Executive Committee present. Informing the participants on the history of the Association, Dr. Nyirenda said that the Association started in 1968 as a registered body gazetted to offer academic and skills training programmes to the people. Its prime objective was to respond to Zambian adult education needs through all forms of training, particularly for the grassroots. Membership to the Association was both individual and institutional.

Dr. Nyirenda further informed the Seminar participants that the Association has thirty-two branches, but that only nineteen of them were considered active, serving grassroot communities. The Association was working at making the other branches become more active. He mentioned that the Association responded to various community needs by providing both formal and non-formal educational programmes which focussed on people's real life problems and experiences. These programmes were offered in the form of short residential courses, seminars, workshops and conferences.

In the area of formal training, the Association offered academic courses such as evening classes for youths and adults from grade eight to nine and sometimes up to General Certificate Examination (GCE), which were based on the felt and expressed needs by the participants. Skills training is provided to both men and women in the area of carpentry, tailoring and knitting, and other skills training-oriented programmes.

The Association also provided public lectures to communities and has a Magazine established particularly to communicate with people. He said that the Association played a vital role in co-ordinating the training activities through the National Executive. He expressed happiness that the Association was hosting an important seminar on peace and that as a member of AALAE, it was the duty of the Adult Education Association of Zambia to contribute not only to the development of the Zambian community but also to the development of the African continent.

Official opening of the seminar

Mr. John Mwanakatwe, Vice President of the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) and Chairman of Hugh Brock Memorial Library on Peace, officially opened the Seminar. In his address to the participants, he emphasized the need to define the concept of peace in the African context in a broader sense than in the framework of the colonization process of Africa. Conscious of African developments, he urged participants to work out a definition of peace and strategies that would ensure genuine attainment of peace in Africa. He observed that there were broadly two types of peace; *absolute peace* and *relative peace*. Absolute peace was the state of complete attainment of peace and assumed complete lack of war, problems, aggression and many other factors that lead to lack of peace. He argued that as long as mankind continued to exist, attainment of absolute peace was impossible. Humanity has always experienced problems in one way or the other and as soon as one need was met

Sharing a joke during his opening ceremony speech, Mr. John Mwanakatwe - Vice President of the International Council for Adult Education.

another one arose. Relative peace was the type that varied from situation to situation and from community to community. In his analysis of this type of peace, Mr. Mwanakatwe mentioned that it was possible to attain this type of peace since it was relative. He called upon educators to address themselves to this type of peace.

Mr. Mwanakatwe observed that Africa was facing a serious problem which according to the World Bank, should be solved through the adoption of such measures as tougher birth-control programmes. He urged participants to work out in clear terms, the factors that cause lack of peace in Africa and based on those factors, work out strategies that would help solve the problem. In analyzing the factors that cause lack of peace and development, he suggested that it cannot entirely be imperialistic forces that cause lack of peace in Africa but that internal factors such as lack of confidence on the part of Africans themselves and mismanagement of resources also contributed to the lack of peace. Lack of education was another factor that he considered to have contributed to the lack of and clear

A cross section of participants during the official opening ceremony.

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understanding of peace. He urged scholars, educators and theologians to coordinate efforts and come up with a coherent explanation of the factors leading the to absence of peace and it's consequences on African Development.

He acknowledged the fact that the process of struggling to attain peace in Africa was an integral part of the world's and indeed humanity's, struggle. However, he saw the Africans themselves as the best people to solve the problems faced by Africa today. They have to take up the challenge with or without outside assistance, in the desperate search for alternative peace. He recognised the importance of the decolonization process in the facilitation of the attainment of African peace, and emphasized the use of non-violence in the process. He considered war in Africa and even in the other parts of the world as not only destroying innocent men, women and children but also inflicting severe damage to the economy of those communities and the general national construction.

Although political independence was a prerequisite, Mr. Mwanakatwe did not consider it as a guarantee for the attainment of peace. In politically independent countries, he argued, people still suffered and lacked the basic needs and services, thus not experiencing peace at all. He viewed peace as holistic/economic, cultural, political and social.

Although the issue of peace was local in nature and the attainment of peace in Africa was considered the responsibility of African countries themselves, he also saw in the struggle that as an act of solidarity, it was the duty of international communities to condemn the violent and military oppression in their communities as well as in other countries. It is the duty of all countries and those who support the idea of peace to join in solidarity with each other in fighting against violence and militarism. Furthermore, he saw it as the duty of all African countries to condemn and limit the use of violence except where it was the last resort after attempting to achieve peace using all non-violent alternatives.

He praised Professor Tandon for the well organized and written document which was to guide the participants in the seminar as they sought answers to the question of peace and development in Africa. Mr. Mwanakatwe argued that since war originated in the minds of the people, he was sure that peace was attainable and that the peaceful strategies would similarly originate in the minds of the people. He thus saw education as an important force in the attainment of peace.

He was happy to see participants leave their equally important duties in their communities and come to participate in the crucial issue of peace and development in Africa. He thanked all participants and wished the seminar a success. He looked forward to reading some concrete recommendations and plans of action on the issue of peace and development. (See appendix I for the detailed Opening Speech).

The Chairman - (AALAE) Dr. Sets'abi's Vote of Thanks

Dr. Sets'abi from Lesotho and Chairman of AALAE thanked Mr. Paul Wangoola, the Secretary General of AALAE for the organisation of the seminar. He attributed the good organization of the seminar to Mr. Wangoola's tireless efforts. He appreciated the warm welcome by the people and the government of Zambia and quoted Dr.Kaunda's prophecy that "Zambia shall be free" and further mentioned that Zambia was now indeed free. He saw Zambia and other frontline states as still fighting for peace, justice, and continued carrying burdens created by neo-colonial forces and yet able to endure every difficulty particularly that created by the fascist regime of South Africa.

He echoed Mr. Mwanakatwe's sentiments that as adult educators the more they see scarce national resources go into the purchase of arms and other military equipment at the expense of development, the more they get agitated to seek solutions to the problem of militarism.

He urged adult educators to use more non-military action through adult education.

He saw the Adult Education Association of Zambia, the people and the government of Zambia as well as the participants from other countries' commitment as an indication of solidarity and seriousness to find answers to the question of peace. Speaking of the significance of African Non-Governmental Organizations, the Chairman considered AALAE as becoming a household word whose impact was beginning to be felt in the whole of Africa, in Latin America and Asia. The Chairman saw AALAE as having a desire to see peace "within ourselves, without conscience, between husbands and wives, in every village, community, nation and around the globe".

He observed that about 50% of the African States were under militarism and military rule. Within these states, he argued, people remained agitated, disturbed and ever searching for peace. Dr. Sets'abi urged participants to examine the role of adult educators in bringing peace in families, homes, continents and the globe since

Prof. Yash Tandon, the principal resource person at the seminar presenting the working document.

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peace was the basis for development. (See appendix I for the detailed remarks).

Overview of the Basic Working Document

Prof. Yash Tandon, the principal resource person and author of the seminar's basic working document entitled "Militarism and Peace Education in Africa", briefly presented the document, outlining its main parts and the issues covered.

The working document started with a historical account of the African continent, going back 500 years ago, when Africa first came into contact with Europe. To begin with, this contact was peaceful and relations were based on mutual exchange of goods. These relations of exchange degenerated into cheating and trickery and slave trade on the part of the Europeans and later expanded into slavery and slave trade. Slave trade heralded an outbreak of militarism which has continued to the present days, taking different forms.

Slavery and slave trade in so far as it denied the African people their political rights and drove them to labour for others in far-away foreign lands, could not be voluntarily accepted. It had to be imposed by force of arms. Thus began the era of slave trade militarism. The objective of slave trade militarism was political domination as a stepping stone to economic domination. Slave trade was a violent system related to the whole production and social relations.

Later on it became necessary to enslave the African people *in situ,* in their own continent instead of exporting them to the Americas, the Indies etc. This was achieved under colonialism. Colonialism introduced its own militarism which is well documented. Colonial militarism became necessary as the African peoples could not voluntarily accept foreign political domination, the loss of power over their natural resources or the denial of the right to work for themselves and for their benefit.

During the colonial period the African destiny was determined from outside; which is another way of saying the foreigners really determined their destiny in Africa. The situation continued even after political independence, and thus ushered in a period of neo-colonialism. Africa has continued to be a producer of primary raw materials for export, without the possibility of industrialization. At the same time we have to import from the North, industrial goods at inflated prices, goods which are usually sub-standard and we do not need. A system is in place to ensure that the African people do not labour for themselves and that their labour is not adequately rewarded. We have to produce what we do not consume and to consume what we do not produce.

Superimposed on this economic sub-structure is the political super structure, also the product of the colonial and neo-colonial system. At the political level, leadership is in the hands of the middle or upper elite who have been specifically prepared to perpetuate the colonial and neo-colonial status quo, at the expense of the interests of the people. To ensure that such an unpopular state of affairs is in place, the state has coercive instruments, especially the army, police and secret service. The mere presence of these instruments without use is a threat which instills fear and peacelessness into the minds of the people. But then in Africa the army and police are liberally employed to beat up, torture, even kill the people.

It was observed that the concept of peace was usually defined in foreign terms. It is usually defined in relation to nuclear war and armament. It was however, argued that nuclear war was not necessarily the major concern for Africa but that Africa has been concerned with an ongoing war that has to do with structural oppression such as lack of food, health facilities and other social and economic deprivations. In his final remarks on peace as a concept, Professor Tandon requested participants to answer the question: What issues relating to peace are relevant to Africa? How different were they from the Northern concept of peace? It was further argued

that the concept of peace varied from country to country and that even in one country, the views about peace change as a country goes through its economic, political, military, dictatorial and other changes. Uganda was one such example which was considered to have undergone several political changes and each regime had its own rationale to justify a certain form of violence.

In South Africa, militarism has become sophisticated. Here militarism is not only the use of the army but the apartheid regime has used other sophisticated forces to impose and sustain a system of economic domination and exploitation. Militarism is only one of the forces used to enhance imperialism; but there are other non violent mechanisms, such as the use of education, religion and ideology.

In reaction to the overview presented by the resource person, participants observed that militarism was common in Africa before contact with the North, and that the study of this earlier militarism would shed light on present-day militarism. It was also pointed out that imperialism was actually a central issue in the monograph although the author seemed not to have used the terms. It was further argued that imperialism by its nature was aggressive and that it cannot be separated from economics and politics. Militarism was considered by participants as one of the ways used to protect economic and political domination. Participants further argued that ideology was extensively used in Africa to dominate the people. An example was given of Angola where people were indoctrinated with wrong ideas about their situation and problems. Whilst participants agreed that peace could be achieved through the use and co-ordination of both foreign and local forces, it was strongly argued that foreign forces have no right to interfere in the affairs of a sovereign people. People should have the right to determine their own affairs.

It was further argued that not all violence was militarist but that it is only institutional violence to achieve oppressive political and undemocratic ends which constituted militarism. Participants also

discussed the role of the media in its non-violent role of distorting reality to maintain the status quo.

In summing up the overview of the basic working document, the participants agreed with its main arguments and thrust. They particulary commended the interdisciplinary nature of the document. They nonetheless were of the view that the document would be strengthened further, and in particular by studying the nature and forms of militarism before colonialism. Secondly, the participants suggested a detailed study of options and role of NGOs as "peace makers". This was of particular interest and concern as there were ample signs of imperialism wishing to use NGOs on its militarist programme in Africa for low-intensity crisis management.

Also of significance was the participants' rejection of the North's preoccupation with disarmament, nuclear or otherwise. For them structural violence and foreign domination are the real impediment to peace in Africa.

The Concept of Peace

The concept of peace was briefly discussed by the resource person and then discussed both in the plenary session and the three groups. Participants particularly analysed the meaning of peace in the African context. Both the presenter and the three groups emphasized the need for peace in their analysis and projection of development in Africa. The issue was thus considered not as a mere academic exercise, but one of critical, practical and immediate importance. The practical and concrete question then was to define peace within the African context.

Africa had experienced slow growth and development in politics and the economy as a result of foreign domination. Indeed in the last decade or so Africa had indeed recorded a net loss in the economy as well as in democratic gains. All this was possible because of

militarist, imperialist domination. Under the circumstances the participants argued that peace was a pre-condition for development.

Peace was considered to carry a different meaning in the African context. It was observed that peace in the northern context seemed to imply the absence or lack of war and arms. In his overview, Professor Tandon observed that the notion of peace has historically been considered as absence of war and that if weapons, soldiers and war were removed, then there would be peace. He rejected this notion of peace and saw it as inadequate for development. He offered a definition which not only included absence of war but also a peace which included abundance of basic needs, namely: shelter, food, clothing and other needs.

Participants similarly rejected the idea of peace as absence of war or arms. They saw peace as a situation in which people were not at war but also had self-determination and self-confidence. The participants also came to a consensus that there are basically two types of peace - *relative* and *absolute* peace. Relative peace was the type

Prof. Yash Tandon

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of peace experienced at different levels and was specific to specific situations. Following the debates and discussions, it was agreed that the achievement of absolute peace was not possible since mankind always experienced a state of need, problems and struggle. However, relative peace was considered attainable and that organizations, communities and nations should strive towards achieving this kind of peace.

Two other approaches on peace were advanced. There were *negative* and *positive* peace. Positive peace was identified as a situation where conflict was avoided and all causes of war were removed, including political differences and economic rivalries. Positive peace would ensure that people's needs are met; inequality removed; and that there was a fair distribution of services and goods. Negative peace is when a show of force or the threat to use it imposes "peace".

Some participants saw the presence of all freedoms as constituting a state of peace: free expression and development of socio-economic and political potentialities of humanity. This group of participants saw Africa as politically dependent since there were constant experiences of interference. Economically, Africa was dictated to by the super-powers and socially, services rendered to communities were inadequate and in some cases non-existent. Africa was thus seen as needing positive peace in relation to all spheres of human endeavour. The attainment of positive peace would be possible if exploitation and oppression of people were removed.

Negative peace as the absence of war was considered to be phoney peace as it was achieved on the basis of the so-called balance of nuclear terror; and therefore on the threat of nuclear annihilation.

Imperialism was singled out as the principal cause of peacelessness and instability on the African continent. However, the political local elites who acted as agents of imperialism also came under fire. Their own mismanagement, corruption etc. aggravate the problem, so that even the limited resources available are not utilized to improve

the lot of people as a whole, but instead are used to enrich an increasingly small clique of compradores. As a result, the poorer get poorer and more numerous; and the rich get richer and fewer.

To achieve peace in Africa, participants were of the view that it would be essential to set up a self-reliant economy which integrated agriculture and industry and responded to the needs of the people. But this could be only be possible if Africa freed herself from foreign domination. This means therefore that Africa cannot be saved by foreigners. Only the Africans can be their own saviours. To achieve this, Africa needs a clear understanding of the forces at work on the continent and on the world as a whole; and on that basis develop new forms of social organisation and social action.

Peace can only be achieved in Africa through the united action on the part of the people. To this end, the participants urged NGOs like AALAE to encourage and nurture environments conducive to dialogue and the peaceful resolution of contradictions. In particular, NGOs were urged to create space and opportunities for the discussion of peace and strategising for its attainment.

Militarism

Professor Tandon defined militarism as "the use of force or the army on other people so as to impose or sustain a system of economic domination and exploitation". It was therefore argued that whenever you have an economic system based on exploitation, you necessarily have militarism, since exploitation cannot be attained or managed without force. However, quite often the instruments of force are not highlighted in some countries and in such situations the "democratic" instruments like parliamentary democracy could be highlighted. This is because the state uses force and persuasion to achieve the objective of economic domination. Force is always a reserve measure to be resorted to when persuasion fails. And force takes different forms:

police, secret police, media intimidation etc. The higher the level of crisis arising out of exploitation, the more naked form force takes. As the crisis intensifies, the state in question gets more agressive, and to survive has to export aggression across borders. The South African regime and its policy of destabilisation, was given as a case in point.

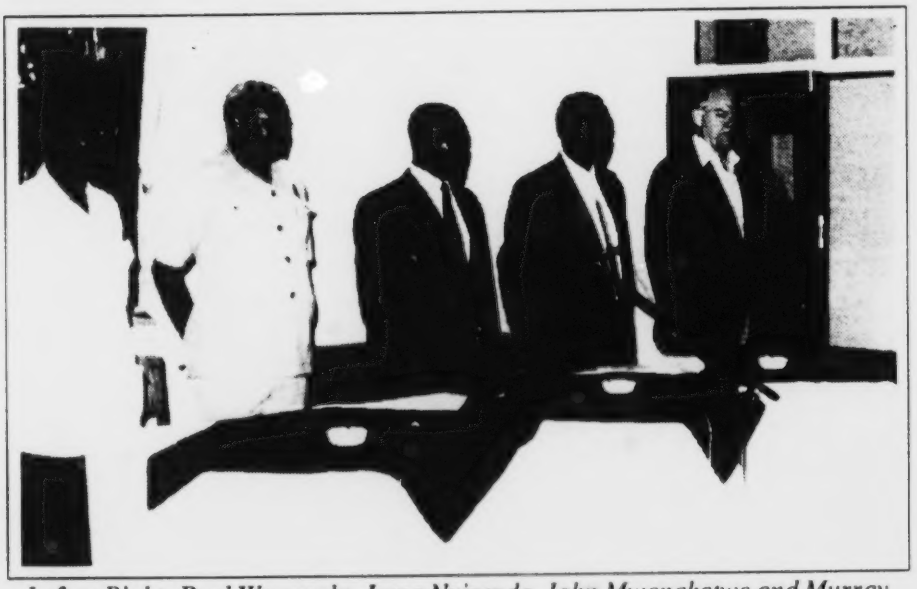
The participants then discussed the use of violence, and when its use could be justified.

When is the use of violence justified?

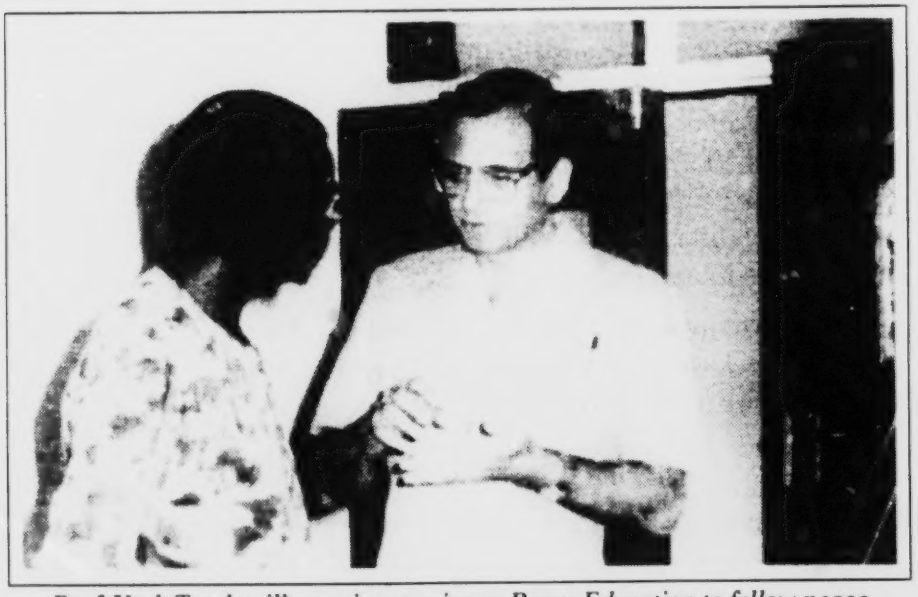
The participants grappled with the question as to whether the use of violence can be justified. In the process they distinguished between *aggressive* and *protective violence*. Aggressive violence is the violence of the oppressor, who uses force to dominate. Protective violence is the violence of the oppressed to protect themselves and to try and acquire or defend their legitimate rights. In that case aggressive violence actually imposes protective violence on the oppressed. However, it was stressed that protective violence should only be resorted to after exhausting all possible peaceful avenues. It was emphasized that violence should not be resorted to until peaceful negotiations fail. But that even then, protective violence would be prosecuted while at the same time working for or towards a peaceful negotiated settlement.

The participants warned further that protective violence should not be undertaken adventurously without the capacity and determination to sustain it.

The participants were of the view that in countries where the will of the people was manipulated, for example through electoral thuggery, the people should first respond through civil disobedience, for example, boycotting phoney elections. However, it was reckoned that civil disobedience requires a great deal of political education,



Left to Right: Paul Wangoola, Juma Nyirenda, John Mwanakatwe and Murray Thomson standing for the Zambian National Anthem.



Prof. Yash Tandon illustrating a point on Peace Education to fellow peace maker, Paul Wangoola.

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AEAZ officials Martin Kamwengo (National Secretary) and William Mulenga (Program Officer)

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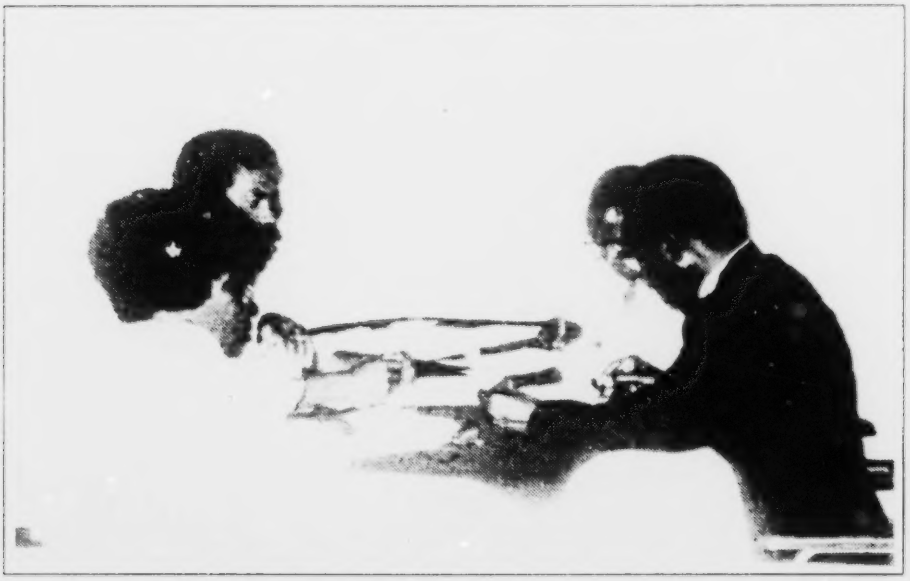
Ms. Tembi Mbobo, Director of the Centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs (CEAPA) outlining the targets for Peace Education in the South African context



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mobilisation and building peoples popular organisations. These popular organisations later could become liberation movements.

Democratization of the media was also considered a crucial element in the efforts towards a peaceful Africa. Such media would ensure full participation of people in the decision making process. African kingdoms before colonialism were considered to have enjoyed democracy. People discussed their problems and if a leader was elected, he would be removed by the people that put him into power especially if he/she went contrary to the people's will. This common practice of a two-way communication process should be encouraged. In order to engage in a meaningful two-way communication process, people should be informed and adult education was such a means towards the attainment of peace and creation of dialogue.

Peace, Liberation Education and training for Peace Education

Professor Tandon identified two schools of thought on the source of war. The first school believed that war originated in the minds of people. Accordingly therefore, it is in the minds of man that "the defenses of peace must be built". According to this school of thought re-education is critical in wiping out war in the minds of people.

The second school of thought believed that man was a reflection of matter. According to this theory, thought is secondary whereas production was primary in social relationships. Thinking is a product of relations in the means of production. Leaders ' thoughts were therefore not independent but are a result of material forces they represented. For example, an American leader's thought about peace reflects the material imperialist interests of the USA, as determined by the military, industrial complex of America. The South African struggle is, according to this theory, also related to the material interests of the people. Peace then must be seen in the context of class

struggle. For a Third World country to attain peace, the people must have control of the means of production.

The participants agreed that Peace Education and Training in Africa should recognise the power of education to provide information and skills and to generate the attitudes for peace action. However, it was also reckoned that peace education and training must recognise the realities of the economic system on the ground. Peace education in Africa, therefore, had to centrally address the question of ownership of the means of production and the issue of national independence.

To make sense, peace education must be rooted in the historical and economic reality of a country. It must also be concrete. However, it should be global in outlook, since local problems of peace are on the whole manifestations of the global problem of foreign domination.

Content of Peace Education

The content of peace education, it was suggested, should be "people's education for people's power". This education should enable the people to control their own economy and all the related "means of production". Content of peace education should create an awareness of civic, human, political and civil rights among the people.

This education should enable the people to exercise their rights within their local situations. Peace education should create an understanding of the importance of loving one another, in contrast to fighting one another.

The content of peace education should be transformational and liberating, thus making the people more self-reliant and less self-centered. This education should be approached as progressing from a local situation to the international setting.

Literature for Peace Education

The participants suggested that peace education literature should be authentic and contextualized: it should be relevant, and should address people's local needs in the community. This literature should be produced in the form of good audio-visual materials, which are clear, simple and to the point. Manuals, posters, single sheets and cassette tapes using native languages, were suggested as viable tools for peace education.

Media for Peace Education

The participants recommended that every form of possible medium should be used to disseminate information on peace education. Formal education for instance should be used in schools and colleges. Cultural songs, art, drama, humor and comedy, the press i.e. national and rural newspapers, wall newspapers in community centres, magazines, radio and television where available, popular theatre, drama in streets and open air libraries, etc. were the types of media that peace educators should employ.

Exchange of Experience

The seminar recommended that there was necessity to conduct a research to identifying grassroot perceptions. This could be in regard to how they view and interpret their environment in terms of social, political and civic development.

It was further recommended that resourceful experts who understand and are conversant with people's problems be deployed at peace seminars and workshops. Exchange programmes between countries and study tours were other recommendations that were made.

The Target for Peace Education

The subject generated such a lively discussion during the closing session of the seminar. Participants wrestled with each other as to whether there was need to educate the oppressors. Some participants were of the view that since the oppressor is deliberate and adamant about oppression, he would discard and dismiss peace education as"being a thorn in the flesh"! Some of the participants however felt that peace education should be targeted to a broad spectrum of society between the ages of 5 to 95 years, including the oppressors. The primary target should be the school going age children, while the secondary or short term target audience should be the adults - these would include both the oppressors and oppressed. However, peace can only be durably achieved through the mobilisation of those who yearn for it, the oppressed. The focus of peace education therefore should be the oppressed.

The participants agreed on some of the qualities of the peace educator. These included: the understanding of the historical roots of peacelessness; recognizing the people's ability to find solutions; being humble and supportive of the people, being aware of and sensitive to people's needs.

Africa's Troubled Spots

While it was recognised that the attainment of peaceful and principled settlements in Africa's trouble spots (South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Sudan, Ethiopia, Algeria) was difficult, it was nonetheless considered possible and essential. It was recommended that peace efforts should come from the people, "since imposed peace is fragile and elusive".

The NGOs can be used to exert friendly pressure on the warring parties, to explain and plead to the parties concerned about the plight

of the suffering people. It was observed that NGOs, OAU and church institutions should be in themselves agents of peace. The groups further recommended that there must be a cessation of external interference in terms of political and military support to the warring factions. Those foreign parties with interests in these areas should keep off. Moreover, foreign interference actually fuels conflicts, to the benefit of imperialism.

Obstructions to Democracy

The groups sighted several factors which serve as an obstruction to democracy; these are: the rigging of elections, controlling of the election officials, solicitation of votes, corruption, buying of votes, etc. It was further noted that tribalism, nepotism, favoritism and foreign political interference, are further obstructions to democracy.

The participants lamented that to ensure total democracy in Africa is an uphill task, since those who manipulate the election process are the people in power and have the monopoly of tools like the media at their disposal. The second setback was the fact that in Africa governments change too often, this usually complicates the democratic process.

The participants however did not despair; they felt that despite all these depressing setbacks to democracy, "there should be wise politicization and educational campaign to provide awareness to the masses so that they possibly have freedom of choice and that it is put in practice".

The participants called for the establishment of democratic institutions which would facilitate a two-way communication between the governed and the government. These same institutions could possibly be used to teach the masses their political and civil rights.

On Non-Interference in the Internal Affairs of Another Country

The participants recognized the right of the leaders and the people in a given country to solve their own problems, without external *interference or pressure.* "But as an act of solidarity, other states, agencies and individuals should be in a position to expose and even condemn oppressive regimes wherever they exist in Africa". The participants were of the view that such condemnation did not constitute interference but solidarity with the oppressed. And nor did it diminish the people's right and obligation to find a solution to their own problems.

Foreign Military Bases

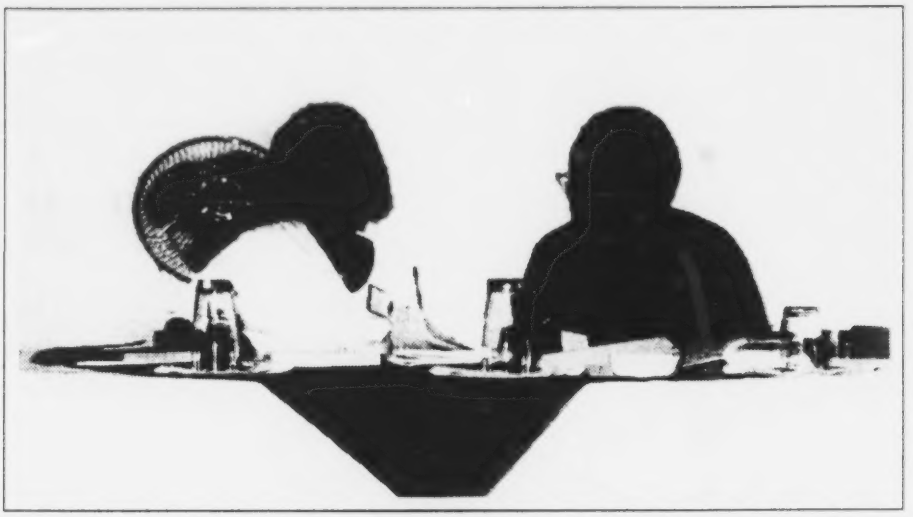
The participants condemned the existence on the African continent of foreign military bases "since they are not in the interests of the people but only perpetuate their domination".

Final Recommendations and Resolutions

The participants passed the following resolutions and recommendations:-

1. That AALAE undertakes a survey to identify international organizations active in the area of peace, and explores possibilities of working with them in the furtherance of peace in Africa, as well as worldwide.

2. That AALAE involves non-AALAE members in the Association's Peace Programme.



The rapporteur general, Ms Margaret Machila in discussion with Joseph Mwanza, a Zambian delegate.

3. That participants identify in their areas organisations and individuals active in peace activities and explore possibilities of linking up with them.

4. AALAE should organize a seminar on how to reach and communicate with the masses on peace issues.

5. Peace should be an integral component of all AALAE's programmes and activities.

6. Professor Tandon's monograph should be published in English and French, as well as translated into some African languages, to ensure a wider and grassroots readership.

7. The seminar set up a Working Committee on AALAE Peace Programme composed of the following:

- Ms. Tembeka Mbobo (South Africa)
- Mr. Peter Phiri (Zambia)
- Mr. Juma Ssebuliba (Uganda)

- Mr. Babacar Diop (Senegal)
- Ms. Margaret Machila (Zambia)
- Paul Wangoola, AALAE Secretariat

AALAE would provide the secretariat and coordination for the Working Committee. The responsibilities of this Committee included the development of a comprehensive AALAE Peace Programme and the assurance of follow-up action on what was a successful seminar.

The Secretary General called upon all the participants of the seminar and the agencies they represent to act as the vanguard in the implementation of the recommendations made during the seminar.

Evaluation of the seminar

At the close of the seminar, the Secretary General of AALAE, Mr. Paul Wangoola, led the participants in evaluating the seminar. The participants were asked to make both an oral and a brief written evaluation of the seminar, based on the following questions:

"What do you consider to be most satisfactory about this seminar"?

"What do you consider least satisfactory about the seminar"?

"What recommendations do you have for a future similar seminar"?

The participants shot up, one after another, to air their views. One participant from Uganda said "as an African living at the grassroot level in Africa, I have not been taking peace as important. Survival, shelter and food have been my pre-occupation. But in this seminar,"

he affirmed, "I have grasped the importance of peace in our region." This delegate ended by praising AALAE for being the "first" NGO to come up with and operationalise the idea of a forum for NGOs and African people to discuss peace issues.

A South African delegate, on behalf of his colleagues confessed that she found the seminar "extremely educative". "We have appreciated greatly your immense solidarity with our struggle. We are more encouraged today than when we came to pursue our just struggle, until victory is achieved".

"This is the first time I have attended a seminar in which I have been the only non-African," one Canadian delegate said, "and after a while, forgot that I was". This delegate praised AALAE for the democratic leadership which was exhibited during the seminar. "Everybody took part in sharing different sessions, and exhibited an outstanding commitment to the cause of peace education," he said. This delegate however, felt that the seminar could have provided for several options in terms of subjects of discussion.

Another Ugandan delegate who said that it had been his privilege to participate in many international conferences around the globe, commended AALAE for what he described as their high skills in the organisation of the seminar. "Organizing an international seminar, is normally an expensive, tedious, and tricky exercise", he said. The delegate also noted that identifying both the eligible participants and the relevant materials is another difficult task. "But AALAE's working document was a highly excellent piece of work, so much so that the participants had very little constructive criticism to make about Prof. Tandon's document." This delegate however felt like several other participants that the representation of female participants was small. He recommended that for future seminars there should be more women participants. After all, "women were a vital asset in the success of any education movement".

Several delegates observed that in future other peace movements like the Greenbelt Movement should be involved in such seminars

and workshops so as to provide for international exchange of experience and ideas.

A Senegalese delegate commended AALAE for giving the African people an opportunity to discuss issues affecting them on a continental level, but was rather disappointed that Arab and Lusophone states had not been invited (or if they were, had not turned up). The delegate recommended that in future seminars, these states should have representation.

One delegate caused laughter when he lamented that "there had been plenty of food during the seminar!" Another delegate felt that the pocket allowances given to the delegates were not sufficient.

On the whole, however, both in the oral and written appraisals of the seminar, 95 per cent of the participants felt that the seminar had been a great success, a historical one, and a great step in the right direction by AALAE. It was recommended that AALAE should formulate, co-ordinate and propagate the urgent and crucial message of peace education and development across the continent.

In response to these observations, Mr. Paul Wangoola, AALAE's Secretary General, expressed deep gratitude to all the participants for their enthusiastic and constructive participation, and for their helpful and honest assessment of the seminar. "These observations and recommendations shall greatly guide us in structuring our future seminars and workshops," he concluded.

APPENDIX I

Official opening speech by Mr. J.M. Mwanakatwe delivered at the International Seminar on African Perspectives and Issues on Peace Education and Action in Africa held at Chainama Hotel, Lusaka, Zambia 4th October, 1988.

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Seminar Participants, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is a great honour and privilege for me to be present among you this afternoon on the occasion of the opening of the International Seminar on Peace Education and Development. I thank the Chairman of the Adult Education Association of Zambia for inviting me to officially open the Seminar.

I join my fellow country-men in welcoming all our friends who have come to Zambia to participate in this seminar. The theme for discussion - Peace Education and Development - is quite significant at a time of intense political activity in this part of Africa and great anxiety about probable consequences in the near or not too distant future. For more than a quarter of a century, the world has witnessed a long and agonizing but futile struggle of the black people in South Africa and Namibia for freedom and independence. Backed by imperialist forces, the apartheid fortress has remained impregnable.

However, today it is indeed encouraging to note that the forces of racism and oppression both in South Africa and Namibia will not long endure. The torch of freedom and independence for the black people of South Africa and Namibia will be free and independent nation states, if not in our generation, at least in the next generation.

The real concern now of informed statesmen in independent Africa is not whether but when Namibia and South Africa will become free and independent under black majority rule. For the answer to the first and more important question is undoubtedly positive. The

question of greatest concern is about the uncertainty of achieving human welfare and progress on a sustained basis after independence. In nearly all independent countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, at least not only human welfare but also human life is increasingly at stake. It has been conveniently stated that the "power of modern capitalistic exploitation assisted by modern machines of destruction" has caused things to go wrong in Africa or "that colonialism destroyed Africa's technological base and political authority" (Prof. Yash Tandon, Militarism and Peace Education in Africa" page 49.) I have every reason to believe that these same forces will be unleashed once Namibia and South Africa achieve independence in order to frustrate economic and political self-determination.

The profiles of nearly all countries in Sub-Saharan Africa do not give cause for optimism either in the immediate future or in the long term. The present economic crisis in Africa is alarming. It is a continent with a population growth averaging three percent per year. Yet Africa has been able to achieve on average only two per cent increase in food production during the 1960s and 1970s.

Consequently, there has been critical food shortages in many countries in Africa, especially in the Sub-Saharan region of the continent. The incidence of hunger and starvation, malnutrition and human misery in general has reached unprecedented proportions. Without any shadow of doubt, the need to reduce or eliminate the incidence of hunger and human misery in Africa and elsewhere in the world is the greatest challenge facing mankind today. We now have a situation in which human welfare and human life itself is increasingly at stake with little or no hope of effecting a reversal of this trend.

Of all short-comings of African countries since the dawn of independence towards the late 1950's and early 1960's failure to produce sufficient food to feed the growing population has been the most serious. Africa is a very large continent. In 1985 its population was estimated at 460 million. It is a continent rich in resources but

unfortunately poor in performance. It has practically all known minerals, including gold, diamond, copper, silver, iron, coal, bauxite, asbestos and precious stones of every kind and description. A few countries in Sub-Saharan Africa also produce oil.

And yet in spite of its centrality in the physical sense and its vast minerals and other resources, Africa commands very little influence and power in world affairs today. As we have emphasized already, Sub-Saharan African countries are among the poorest in the world. Why? In a sense the poverty of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa is a condition which has roots in the history of neo-colonialism and exploitation. There is no doubt that economic exploitation has tended to impoverish African people depriving them of a fair reward for their labour and their resources that enter into world markets. However, there is no doubt also that the poverty of our countries is due to political and economic mismanagement. That fact is inescapable.

To illustrate the degree of crisis in which most of Sub-Saharan Africa presently finds itself it is worth noting that:

- per capita incomes have fallen by almost 25% during the 1980's,

- investments have fallen by almost a half and more now, in per capita terms lower than what they were in the middle of 1960's,

- imports are today only 60% of per capita imports in 1970,

- exports have fallen by 45% since 1980,

- the external debt has grown from 10 billion dollars in 1972 to a staggering 130 billion dollars in 1987. The capacity to service it has not kept pace, thus creating an unmanageable situation for some 20 low-income countries,

- agricultural production has not kept pace with population growth, falling by an average of 2% per annum per capita since the early 1980's,

- the available number of places in school as a percentage is beginning to decline and in some places the infant mortality rate is on the increase.

Therefore, as we approach the last decade of this century, we find that Sub-Saharan Africa is beset with serious economic and social problems. Against the fast deteriorating food situation, there is also the mounting external debt problem which has reduced the ability of most African countries to import food and vital inputs for industrial production. The rate of growth of population is high at a time when increase in food output is low. For example, in Zambia, the annual growth rate of the agricultural sector between 1980 and 1984 was a meager 1.5 per cent against population growth rate of 3.2 per cent per annum.

What measures should be adopted to reverse the trend toward worsening poverty of the people in Sub-Saharan African countries? It is not possible, in my opinion, to find a panacea for all ills in the various countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. However, one point is quite clear. The most urgent need on the continent is to achieve food security as rapidly as possible. The most painful human degradation of our time and the most serious threat to world peace and stability is the existence of so many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and other regions of the world where men, women and children are dying everyday from hunger and where children suffer from severe malnutrition. As I have emphasized already, it is within the capacity of African governments to increase food production by adopting pragmatic policies for sustainable growth of agriculture. Time has come for African policy-makers to question the validity of their

theories and experiences so that appropriate paths of development can be charted for the survival of future generations. To explain away Africa's under-development only as a consequence of European capitalism through its slave trade and through colonialism and neo-colonialism is to be guilty of unforgivable naivety. These factors have contributed to Africa's poverty, but that is not the whole story.

It is important that the growth of agriculture should be meaningful and sustainable over a number of years. It is impossible to achieve such growth with inconsistent policies on agriculture such as we have noted for many African countries during the past twenty-five years. In our view, policies for sustainable growth in agriculture should include attractive producer prices for essential crops, provision of services of extension workers, satisfactory facilities for marketing crops, availability of credit for the farmers at the right time, provision of facilities for storage of crop harvest, timely supply of vital agricultural requisites such as seeds, fertilizers and chemicals, etc. Land reforms in some countries are necessary to ensure that farmers are able to obtain titles to the land they occupy and cultivate. Experience has shown that, where there is security of tenure of land, overall production in agriculture increases steadily.

An attack on poverty certainly implies an attack on hunger and famine. But it means more than that. The poor may be poor because they lack other basic necessities of life apart from food, for example houses, clothes, etc. People expect for themselves and their children in a well ordered society adequate health and education services and defined welfare benefits. However, the extent to which such expectations can be fulfilled depends entirely on the level of national development achieved. A high level of national development is a function of optimum performance of individual members of society.

Regarding health conditions, the available figures show that overall mortality has changed in African countries over time. It is quite clear that on average people now live longer than, say twenty-five or thirty years ago. In our view, apart from continuing to

increase and improve medical facilities, African governments should concentrate on improving nutrition. They should devote much of the available funds to improving the quality of water supplies, environmental hygiene and sanitation. Of course, improvement of medical services is imperative. But beneficial effects of improved medical services are easily nullified in an environment where sanitation is poor and where rules for personal hygiene are not observed. It is the existence of such conditions which characterize the real poverty of African countries. The elimination of such conditions is a way of uplifting living standards of the people in Africa.

The theme for this Seminar is "Peace Education and Development". We are fortunate that Prof. Yash Tandon prepared a basic Working Document on "Militarism and Peace Education in Africa" for the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education (AALAE) responsible for the organisation of this Seminar. It provides a comprehensive erudite analysis of African Perspectives and Issues on "Peace Education and Action". No doubt participants in this Seminar have found a study of Prof. Tandon's document interesting and informative.

The main objectives of this monograph are aptly described in the introduction. They are "to stimulate debate on issues of militarism and peace education in Africa" and "to raise issues of concern for NGOs involved in development work and other organisations and individuals concerned with peace and social justice in Africa". That task has been accomplished satisfactorily.

Many issues will come up for discussion during this Seminar. It is not likely that you will all agree with some of Prof. Tandon's ideas or conclusions on a theme about which it is impossible to be absolutely objective. That indeed will be healthy if it happens in the course of your discussions. For without any doubt uniformity of views on issues relating to Peace Education and Action is virtually impossible to achieve. Prof. Tandon himself reminds us that peace education and

relevant action programmes should "relate to the concrete conditions prevailing in a *particular region and a particular country*" (underlining is ours). He states further that peace education and a relevant action programme is "a concrete matter". It means that issues on peace education and action should not be considered in isolation from the reality of the environment or any given situation.

Whatever views we may hold individually on some of the issues discussed in Prof. Tandon's monograph, I would hope that there will be a consensus in this Seminar on the meaning of peace education. He has defined peace education as "education for changing violent or non-peaceful relationships into non-violent or peaceful relationships." (pages 37 to 38.) He has then suggested that peace education should not be narrow in concept and should not be regarded merely as an academic concept. Rather, he suggests, peace education should be *action* oriented.

I find myself very much in agreement with Prof. Tandon in respect of the vital consideration - some understanding of what peace education actually means. I am very much persuaded by his view that in the final analysis peace education is not like any other subject found in conventional curricula. On page 38 of his monograph, he says:

> "Peace education cannot look at issues of concern to humanity in a neutral or detached way; it should be *critical* and *oppositional*, committed and engaged. It should be courageous enough to deal with complacent ideas about power and the use of instruments of power and violence, and put forward alternatives".

He concludes, then, his understanding of the meaning of education and its purpose as follows (page 38):

> "Peace education should therefore not be just a subject to be dealt with in the curriculum..... In other words, peace education should be mass education extending beyond the school to the general population".

In the language of laymen, peace is always associated with war or conflict that may exist between men or between nations. Labels such as "war-monger" and "peace-maker" are often used to describe different types of characters. Peace education and peace programmes are intended to reconcile opponents.

One important dimension of peace education is that it should be in the words of Prof. Tandon "critical and oppositional". More importantly, he argues further that peace education "should be courageous enough to deal with complacent ideas about power and the use of the instruments of power and violence, and put forward alternatives."

My greatest concern is that the persisting poverty of African countries makes them impotent to fulfill this function of peace education. Amidst widespread hunger and famine, peace education cannot be critical and oppositional from a position of weakness. If peace education is not a narrow concept then we should promote it where its effectiveness can be maximized. Indeed, peace education should be "mass education extending beyond the school to the general population".

It is instructive to recollect the introductory words to the Constitution of the United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) to this effect: "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defenses of peace must be constructed". My article of faith has been all my life that prevalence of ignorance in any society breeds social conflict and political disorder. It is an inescapable fact that the rich and poor will always co-exist as unequal partners. I cannot see any meaningful contribution to peace education in Africa until successful efforts have been made to rescue the economies of African countries.

Recently, we have observed an expanding community of interest among nations on the economic crisis in Africa. In truth, the manifestation is fragile. Few rich nations will be prepared to set aside political differences in order to rescue African countries from the

economic crisis. We have seen that in the developed countries during the first and second United Nations Development Decades. Instead of meeting their pledge of greatly increased aid, industrialized countries decreased the percentage of their GNP that they were allocating to development assistance thereby giving the impression that the West had lost interest in their plight.

Africa is indeed a very large continent both in size and by its population of about five hundred million people. It ranks behind four giants - China and India, with their populations each soaring towards a billion mark, and the Soviet Union and the United States of America each with tremendous technological know-how and huge natural resources at their disposal. Though large in geographical terms, Africa's productive power, or GDP (Gross Domestic Product) is very low. In the world today an important measure of a country's size is its productive power, or GNP which is the multiple of its exploited resources, its population, and most important of all, their skills. Africa's backwardness in terms of productive capacity explains its lack of influence. On the other hand, a country such as Japan, with a population of only one hundred and twenty million people, is one of the world giants, ranking the third after the two super-powers.

Prof. Tandon has emphasized in his monograph that in the case of Uganda "peace education must enable people to understand the sources of militarism and violence". He then advocates "liberation education" to achieve this objective.

My view is that in most countries in Africa peace education must be in the form of a crusade to awaken people to overcome their economic backwardness. There will be no peace in this world without a concerted attack on poverty and its off-shoots of hunger and exploitation. Dictators and oppressors will be overcome only when mass poverty and ignorance have been eliminated in our societies. The peace education which I strongly advocate has been described aptly by Prof. Tandon as follows (page 86):

> "The purpose of peace education is to help educate people to begin *to control their own conditions of existence* (underlining is ours)..... It is education *to make people aware* of their human rights - economic, political, social - and to educate them to take action to defend these rights ..... and to take action to achieve them where they are not yet achieved or denied ..... It is therefore education for unity, education for action".

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Participants, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have endeavoured to emphasize one aspect of peace education which I consider vital for promoting rapid social, economic and political progress in this continent. No doubt you have identified already a number of issues in Prof. Tandon's monograph which you will raise for discussion in this Seminar.

We are very happy and privileged to have in our midst today Mr. Paul Wangoola, the Secretary General of the African Association for Literacy and Adult Education. We welcome him warmly with other delegates. It is due to Mr. Wangoola's foresight and dedication in the service of our continental organization that this Seminar has been organized to discuss an important subject "Peace Education and Development". I hope that deliberations in this Seminar will increase our resolve to fight against any manifestations of oppression, exploitation, militarism and violence on the African continent.

Thank you.

APPENDIX II

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